

ABENG

Vol. 1 No. 18 May 31st, 1969



"We Want Our People to Think for Themselves."
MARCUS GARVEY

BULK-LOADING AT ROCKY POINT

THE SHEARER-WISCO COOK UP DEAL

The Prime Minister announced to his Labour Day audience that terms had been arrived at with WISCO to shift over from Salt River to bulk loading at Rocky Point in Clarendon. The terms are on the whole less favourable than those suggested by the company to the Douglas Commission a few years ago. For example, displaced workers were to be set up in a modern deep-sea fishing co-operative which could have provided substantial incomes if it had materialised.

Instead, the new agreement provides for severance pay for displaced workers; and the only additional assistance is "if a worker should get, say £2,000 as severance and decides to invest up to £1,000 and decides to invest up to £1,000 to "start off" again, the company will give him an additional £1,000 to the original £2,000."

The public does not yet know the specific terms of the agreement. How will severance pay be decided? How many of the 123 workers are likely to get as much as £2,000

severance pay? Who determines what is "investment" for purposes of getting the additional matching funds? How will the agreement be policed to see that workers get the promised matching funds? All these questions need to be answered before any displacement of workers takes place!

The general terms outlined by the Prime Minister suggest that displaced workers will be really left to catch-as-catch-can. The investment opportunities for a man with a £1,000 must be limited in

that part of the country. In farming for example, no good land is available there; WISCO already has all of it. The company no doubt realizes that it will, by default not have to pay out much in matching funds. For it does not seem that it is obliged to provide for advice to these workers about possible investment opportunities.

Finally we are told that the 16 workers who will not lose their jobs will be allotted a £40,400 block of shares in the company and one representative on the board of

directors. What is the use of shares in a company which claims it is losing money? And what can one representative do on a board that does not have the power to make real decisions?

When we analyse the agreement in this way, we see that it is pure window dressing. King Suga has won another round at the expense of the suffering Jamaican working class. Once more, government and the unions seem contented with what seems to them to be a "little bit more."



SANTA CRUZ POLICE KILLING THIS COULD BE YOUR SON

Charles Gunther is aged 20 years and is a welder employed by Owl, Shirt and Gunther of Alpart Jamaica Ltd. He is also the only child of Anita Samuels of Nain popularly known as "Sister Sam".

On the 1st Feb., 1969, Charles went to buy a pack of cigarettes from a neighbouring grocery shop in Nain and in the process got into a heated discussion with the shop assistant, who at one point threatened Charles with an ice pick, when Charles complained that they were delaying giving him his change.

A plain-clothes policeman eating in the shop at the time and a friend of the proprietor ordered Gunther out and when Gunther protested, boxed him. A fight ensued between the policeman and Gunther, which was broken up when Gunther's mother, on arriving on the scene, held Gunther around the

waist to "prevent him getting in trouble".

While Gunther was in her arms she heard a shot, felt blood on her face, and felt her son go limp. They both fell over, Gunther dying shortly after with a gunshot in his chest.

A report in the Star claimed that Gunther was shot with a service revolver by a policeman in self-defence, whereas Dr. Hosa Kein of Santa Cruz who performed the inquest states that Gunther was shot by a shotgun.

So far, no arrests have been made by the police neither has any statement been collected from Charles' mother.

Local opinion suggests Charles to be a young man of integrity, well known and admired in his community. Little wonder that the response of the villagers to his killing was to burn the grocery shop to the ground.

AFRICAN YOUTH MARK ALL-AFRICA DAY

A special edition of "The Black Man Speaks" magazine was published. Its editorial spoke of the barbarous treatment meted out to Africans in Jamaica and said that "it is in the face of this immediate threat to our life and well-being that I and I as African youth must resolve along with Africans everywhere, to support the efforts of the O.A.U. in furthering African Unity with the intention that our motherland be free from colonialism in

whatsoever form it takes."

Over 200 youths and Rastafarians gathered at Africa Hall to celebrate All African Day (May 25). This day was set aside by the Organisation of African Unity to be observed as a day of unity by all Africans. Several speeches on African culture and history were made and these were followed by drum-chants and the reading of a scene from a play on the Mau-Mau rebellion, which was very well received.

WHITE MARL : SECOND WAVE ATTACK ON THE PEOPLE

Once more two party democratic politics has launched a vicious attack against the long-suffering people of Jamaica. The latest crime was committed at White Marl just outside Central Village in St. Catherine.

ATTACKS ON THE PEOPLE

On both Monday May 19 and Wednesday May 21, two squads of men in Ministry of Housing trucks arrived under a superintendent from the ministry, trampled down the people's crops and wrecked the shacks of over 400 Jamaicans. As a result of the attacks over 200 men, women and children of White Marl are now without money, food or shelter.

Most of the people attacked by the Ministry's strong arm men had gone to White Marl originally a few years ago after Shearer's statement that the people could cultivate any government land without molestation. As a result some 60 acres of rock-stone land at White Marl had been planted out with gungo peas, tomato, pumpkins and other market crops by the small cultivators. In addition, the White Marl brothers had built roads into the hinterland to allow easier access

to their cultivation. Now the people there want to know whether government will compensate them for the destruction of the products of their labour.

MCNEIL'S CONSTITUENCY

The latest attack follows an assault against the people's houses which took place on March 21, three days after the local government elections. At that time the JLP Councillor for the area, Brown lost the election to PNP Ivy Williams. After the destruction of the houses, most of which were unoccupied, the citizens led a deputation to Roy McNeil, the M.P. for the area. The only answer the people got from McNeil was the further waves of violence against them last week. The Abeng reporter was told by one White Marl sufferer that the attack was even more vicious since White Marl people did not vote PNP as most of them had no vote because no voter registration took place there. Residents of the area also reported that the few cultivators of the area who had JLP branch cards were given money to leave before the assault took place.

SYMPATHETIC POLICE

The two truck loads of

official hooligans were protected by three jeeps, two trucks and a radio car of armed police led by two Kingston Inspectors. Some of the police were so outraged by injustice that they secretly expressed sympathy to the people, said they had to take orders. In fact one constable is reported to have shed tears when a mother pleaded with him that she had nowhere to shelter herself and her seven children!

LAND TO OWN

The people now have nowhere to go nor cash to buy anything. They say the attack was criminal because 'Jamaicans cannot squat on what is their own land. They cannot understand the excuse government gave them that the land is needed for "development." Some say that they hear that it is Matapon & Tourism which will take over the land after they have been illegally pushed off.

Whatever happens though people expressed a determination to have nothing to do with local politics and demanded that the government not to lease or "squat" on that more political gangsters victimise them again.

"... it requires that the force has to be extra careful in carrying out your duties that no case is established against you since up to now none has been."

Shearer speaking recently at the Police Federation Meeting

MAY 1938

PART TWO

THE FAILURE OF REBELLION



BY
"HISTORIAN"

GRASSROOTS ORGANISATION

One of the dimensions of political activity in Jamaica in 1938 which requires a lot of investigation is the question of organisation at the grassroots level. The masses were not necessarily the shapeless lump which the very name seems to suggest.

The 1930s witnessed the emergence of numerous organisations, in which it would seem that returning migrants from the U.S.A., Cuba and Central America often played an important leadership role. Some of them are fairly well-known already, like the National Reform Association and the Federation of Citizens' Associations. These were, however, middle class organisations. We need to know far more about other groups like the Workers' and Tradesmen's Union, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (which founded a new Division, Harmony, in May 1938), the Jamaica Protective Association, the Jamaica Labour Party (formed in April 1937 and thus antedating Bustamante's by six years), the Artisan's Federated Union, the Social Reconstruction League and the Jamaica Permanent Development Convention, to name only some of them.

It is evident that many such groups were formed by petit bourgeois elements like shopkeepers and small contractors, and were concerned with economic "self-help" and mutual protection against big business. Nevertheless, even these were much closer to the masses than anything that had gone before (with Bogle and Bedward as exceptions, in so far as they had permanent organisations). Nor is it a necessary deduction from their significance that their membership was obviously small in most cases. Their emergence in the 1930s is a sign that at some lower levels of the class hierarchy a consciousness was beginning to emerge which could only in the end find itself opposed to existing power structures. This organisational activity was the first signs of actively testing their emerging consciousness against the colonial reality which was to have important future repercussions.

RURAL ORGANISATIONS

All of this activity, however, was urban in nature. Whatever new consciousness may have begun to develop in the towns, there is little sign of new organisational developments in the rural areas. Yet there was one important exception, and further research may show it not to have been unique.

Apparently early in 1938, Robert E. Rumble founded the Poor Man's Improvement Land Settlement and Labour Association in Upper Clarendon. This seems to have been a squatters' organisation, and it became involved in court cases regarding tenants at Trout Hall

and Cocoa Walk. In a petition to the Governor dated 23 April, 1938, it claimed 800 members. Ideologically it was comparatively advanced, since Rumble drew his views on land, rent and taxes from the writings of Henry George, and was in touch with the Henry George Foundation in London. Such an organisation is obviously of great significance, and it is extremely interesting that it seems to have played no significant part in the May-June disturbances, something which, if it is definitely true, will require explanation.

THE INFLUENCE OF GARVEYISM

The other political dimension at the mass level which needs further study is the influence of the Garveyite movement after the departure of the founder from Jamaica in 1935. Garvey himself had in his last years in the island been turning his attention more specifically than before to problems of poverty and unemployment and trade union organisation. Nevertheless, the development of Garveyism after 1935 is ambivalent. On the one hand, in terms of those who remained linked with the formal U.N.I.A. structure, it tended increasingly to express the aspirations of the petit bourgeoisie and the less successful of the black bourgeoisie, whose concern was with such forms of economic organisation as banks and loan societies, which would provide capital and enhance their business competitiveness. Thus already by 1938, Garveyites were prominent in groups like the Protective League and the Permanent Development Convention. It is significant in this respect that there was a noticeable influx of leading U.N.I.A. members into the P.N.P. after September 1938.

On the other hand, Garveyism in the broadest ideological sense, with its emphasis on blackness, Africa and Ethiopia, had its effect on the sufferers. For the reasons discussed in an earlier section, it is at this level that it is most difficult to obtain information, but one can at least cite the most obvious example, the Rastafari movement, which owed its origins, in part at least, to a feedback from Garveyism in Central America and the U.S.A. By March 1938 Rastafari was becoming significant enough to provoke a judge's remark on "the undoubted nuisance the Rastafari people were becoming", and in the same month there were police raids on cult members in different parts of the island. Though at present I know of only one instance of explicit Rastafarian (or Rastafarian-type) participation in the events of May-June 1938, there is no doubt that this aspect of the consciousness of the masses requires very careful study.

1938, REBELLION OR REVOLUTION?

I would distinguish a rebellion from a revolution along two main lines. First, rebels accept the prevailing social values, particularly those concerning the class system. What they are seeking to do, in fact, is to restore those values—or, more accurately, an idealised version of them—maintaining that they have been flouted. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, assert against existing values a counter-consciousness with values of its own. Second, rebels do not seek major structural change; they desire either minor adjustments, or else that the system should work in the idealised fashion which its own ideology (values) suggests that it should. (The rebels may, of course, be seeking both things.) Revolutionaries believe that their ultimate aims in terms of their new values can only be achieved if existing structures are destroyed and rebuilt. A further rider might be added to those distinctions. It follows from the whole question of consciousness that the aims of revolutionaries are likely to be far more clearly articulated than those of rebels.

There can be little doubt that the events of May-June 1938 in Jamaica were rebellious rather than revolutionary. The strikers and demonstrators were demanding only those things which they believed the existing system to be capable of giving them—higher wages, more work and more land. In objective terms the system was in fact capable of raising wages, and did so, for dockers, banana and sugar workers, and P.W.D. labourers.



We must have grave doubts, however, whether the system was in 1938 capable objectively of providing more work, or substantially increasing the amount of land in the hands of peasant farmers. More especially, in the latter case, it may be doubted whether the existing system was capable of providing credit and marketing facilities, which would be needed to establish peasant farming as the dominant sector of the economy, which would have been the only permanent solution to the unemployment problem. Certainly, although we cannot go into the matter here, the next few years saw the failure of the much-trumpeted "New Deal" in land settlement first announced on 5 June. Thus, what the rebels believed the system capable of granting them, it in fact substantially could not: this is the basic contradiction in the whole situation.

Thus, while the situation in Jamaica in 1938 was, in terms of the consciousness of the masses, only a rebellion, its movement was that of revolution. The system could only have met the demands of the masses if there had been major economic and social changes, in other words revolution; thus, the sufferers were revolutionary in spite of themselves.

Two essential prerequisites were missing from the situation if revolution was in fact to come about—a new consciousness on the part of the sufferers which they could oppose to existing values, and an organisation to lead them.

In 1938, then, the politics of protest was rebellious, but not yet revolutionary. For it to have been revolutionary, much depended upon the policy adopted by the colonial administration and by the upper and middle classes. Force was of course part of this policy, with the police backed up by six platoons of the Sherwood Foresters and nearly 5,000 armed Special Constables, and two cruisers of the Royal Navy standing offshore. Concessions were another part—the appointment of the Conciliation Board, its work in persuading employers to grant wage increases, finally the announcement of the "New Deal" in land. The plantocracy, obviously alarmed by events, concurred in all this, at least in public; no major reactionary voice was heard.

Instinctively plantocrats and administrators realised the line to take—separate the "workers" from the "hooligans" and grant limited concessions to one while suppressing the other. Thus the Resident Magistrate of St. Catherine made this perfectly plain in the course of charging a group of alleged rioters. Recognising that men had a right to expect work, if available (an important reservation), and "a fair living wage", he reminded the "working class" that

... everything is being done for you by those that are to do so, in a dispassionate manner. Those people will understand that when I say that the present deliberations must be done with perfect quiet. The only thing to be done at the moment is to leave the matter to those who were working on your behalf.

I want the hooligans and roughs to know that the honest workers and citizens have a feeling of hatred for them in their hearts. Having thus reminded "honest citizens" that violence used to defend the system had the sanction of the State, the Magistrate adjured his listeners to "Go away and take to heart what I have said."

Putting this line into practice, the powers that be turned to Coombs, Manley and—after initial hesitation—Bustamante. With this was initiated the whole policy of building a "legitimate" labour movement, which the few existing labour leaders, the emerging middle class leaders, and the government all now felt to be essential.

Thus the "politics of protest" was met by the "politics of control."

YOUTH REVOLUTION IN JAMAICA

This is the concluding section of an article by the same name which first appeared in the magazine LIJ, formerly 'Youth Move'. ABENG urges all its readers to try to get hold of copies of LIJ and also to show it to their friends. It represents a new and important stage in the development of the Black Struggle in Jamaica.

ECONOMIC—The question of power today lies in economic control. The capitalists are in control of the economic production of Jamaica today, and so they control not only trade but political decisions as well. This leads to uneven progression in local facilities, to the building up of hotels, businesses and financial institutions such as banks, investment corporations etc. This build-up of capitalist facilities is carried out to the detriment of the poor man. The expansion of programmes to assist the wage-earner in attaining a better standard of living is entirely dependent upon the fringe benefits of the rich man's advancement, yet many Jamaicans still believe that we are indebted to the foreign investor.

A study of the economic situation of Jamaica will show that more money is being taken out of the country by foreigners than is invested by them. Such arguments as the creation of numerous jobs by foreign investment don't hold any water. For example, the bauxite industry employs 5,000 Jamaican workers, while between 50,000 and 60,000 jobs are created in America and Canada by our bauxite. We only mine the bauxite, but the real jobs and the real money are in the industries which convert the bauxite to alumina, and such industries as manufacturing and construction materials which make feasible the use of alumina. Bauxite in its raw state is useless. Another interesting fact is that the revenue government receives from bauxite in the form of royalties and taxes is far exceeded by the amount of money that expatriates send to their families in Jamaica from

abroad. So we are not earning any real money from our bauxite, and every year we hear "a record amount of bauxite was mined from Jamaica." At the present rate of extraction, our bauxite will be finished within 25 years. Does anyone believe that the foreigners will still be around when our raw material is finished? Will they help us then?

Clearly, such industries as bauxite and agriculture must come under national control to ensure that the major benefits are related to the progress of Jamaica. This step cannot be taken under the present system of alliance to America. Jamaica is fast being sold out to foreigners, and this exploitation must cease now. The power to do this lies solely within the youth revolutionary movement.

RELIGIOUS—Perhaps this aspect should have been discussed earlier, as it coincides with the awakening of the people. Nevertheless, as a result of its importance, religion will be discussed here.

The question is really the acceptance or rejection of Christianity, not whether Jesus Christ was God or not. Now, according to the white people, Christ was a white man who lived many years ago in a white man's country. During his life he preached to white people about white concepts and white conditions. There is no link whatsoever with black people. History shows that before undertaking the subjugation of any foreign people, they sent their missionaries with the message of Christ to their intended victims. They did so in Africa, they did so in Central America, in North and South America. The missionaries presented natives with a meek, passive and upright image. Their devoutness was especially appealing, since the Indians of the Americas and the black man of Africa held their gods in high regard.

Then came the soldiers and the natives were confused. How come the first white visitors tell us of God and the righteous path, while the second white visitors speak of war?

Look how they rape our women and destroy our life. What manner of people are these? Questions left unanswered for the Indians were wiped out and the Africans exploited. Slavery was set up and the white man mixed slavery and religion. African slaves were not allowed to worship their own gods, and the religious needs of our forefathers were such that Jesus Christ was accepted.

Today, the white has almost totally rejected the concept of religion for that of material gain. And yet black people still hold onto the lie that a white god shall come bursting through the clouds and save all righteous people. In the words of Uncle Tom, "ain't no white man gonna do nothin' for no black man."

The role of the Christian church today is purely a social effort. During the reign of Christianity, in keeping with the doctrines of Christ, no church could own anything, as the church is dedicated to poor people. The other Sunday some sufferers were sitting beside the school building owned by St. Peter & Paul Catholic church, watching a cricket match or Providence grounds. The white man who would have us call him 'Father' brought a policeman to remove us from 'his land'.

The Christian Church is a fiasco, and must be dealt with as such. We have no need of a godhead, for black man is here greater than any man ever born.

The revolution that we, the youth, are undertaking is a total upheaval of all that went before us in an effort to finally remove the mental chains of slavery. We want nothing to stand that is not originated by us in our own interests. The revolution need not be feared, for it has happened in France, in England, Germany, Russia, China, and is happening in Africa now. It need not be violent, and it need not fail. But it must be total and it MUST COME.

POLICE CRIME WAVE!

On Friday 18th April at about 5.00 p.m. a squad of policemen from Harmon Barracks invaded a sector of Brown's Town in Eastern Kingston and brutalized the youths in the most vicious way.

The invaded sector is called Dunkirk. This is a sector which is no different to any other place where the oppressed live. Poverty, unemployment, police brutality is the order of the day to the youths of this area. But the power structure has built up this area to be a so-called dangerous area to society so they can carry out their acts of victimization under the cloak of seeking out criminals.

The youths of Brown's Town and many other areas of Eastern Kingston have already shown the Structure the route they will take, the route of "Black liberation"—so that's the reason for the increase in victimization by the GARDEN BOYS of Imperialism, the Police.

Well on the 18th they came as usual armed to the teeth, moving through different sectors of the slums beating and kicking until they reached a yard where some youths were gathered reasoning. They were there because they had a right to be there, most of them are residents in the said yard. Well the "white-hearted" squad of death entered the premises where the youth were, like common thieves scaling the fences and the gate.

They entered and started to earn their pay by brutalizing Black youths who are guilty of no other crime than the search for their heritage and culture—if that's a crime. They whipped and punched the youths like the slave masters of old, then proceeded to drench them with basins of water from a nearby pipe, saying that the youths wanted baths. One youth was beaten with gun-butt without mercy and many others had cuts and bruises after the police had left.

This is just one of the many acts of brutality that has been taking place in Eastern Kingston. Recently a Brother was shot at Rockfort on the pretence that he had robbed a policeman £3, while two others were arrested in a so-called running gun-dual. Brothers in Franklyn Town, Rollington Town and Rae Town also are feeling the "butt" of police brutality. The Power Structure is afraid because they can't bribe us with £5 notes so they have given the order to clean up. But they are wasting their time, there can only be one path for us the Black, oppressed youths of not only Eastern Kingston, but the entire Jamaica—freedom under progressive Black leadership and an end to White Imperialist domination.

Once again we turn to the people's own ABENG to disclose without fear the injustices being committed by the yard-boys of oppression, the police, and once more for united support by all youths for ABENG.

ABENG is Garvey's BLACKMAN returned.

DEMOCRAT



SUGAR WORKERS DECLARATION

The Parliamentary Unions have divided our strength in two. One half they give to the white foreign WISCO, one half to black sufferation; and the dues they keep for themselves.

There is no strength capable of leading Sugar Workers as the strength of Sugar Workers themselves. But can any people be strong when they are divided in two? Regain our strength through a Workers' Council on every farm, in every factory, in every village. A Sugar Workers' Council is a body of five or more Sugar Workers who meet regularly to work out their day to day working problems of life and who, united and together, establish their headquarters of authority of their Union in their own area of work and living.

SUGAR WORKERS CONFERENCE

Place — FEDERAL THEATRE, GRANGE HILL

Date — Sunday 8th, JUNE 1969

Time — 1 p.m.

Guest Speaker — to be announced

SUGAR WORKERS TRIAL

We try the B.I.T.U. with the P.N.P. Government
We try the N.W.U. with the J.L.P. Government
We try the B.I.T.U. with the J.L.P. Government
We try the N.W.U. with the P.N.P. Government
We try joint representation with the P.N. Government

We try joint representation with the J.L. Government

We try them on the farm
We try them in the factory
We try them as our union leaders
We try them as our political leaders
We try them as our Government leaders
We try them as our opposition leaders
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and
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Vol. 1 No. 18 May 31st, 1969

VIOLENCE FROM THE TOP

Once more ordinary people throughout Jamaica have written to the Abeng about their experiences of police violence. While the official in society create hysteria about criminal violence, it is increasingly clear that violence is pouring from the top down and not the other way around. In fact, the accounts of the people suggest that the police are the most violent section of our society.

This is nothing new. Throughout our history as suffocation produced resistance from the black man, the slaveowner passed new laws to oppress the people. So that historically in Jamaica the rule of law has meant the administration of injustice. And since black people have never been prepared to take injustice without protest, the slaveowners always had to use official violence to back up his one-sided laws.

In fact, the present police force was created to keep black people in their place after the Morant Bay rebellion showed that we would challenge the regime of oppression whatever the cost. The white historian of colonial police tells us that in Jamaica "the establishment of organised police forces was due ... to a well-justified fear on the part of the governing class that the existence of this mass of ... discontented people offered a serious threat to

law and order" (Sir Charles Jeffries The Colonial Police p.60).

Today the threat is more serious because we are more conscious, discontent is greater and "law and order" continues to benefit only a few people in the society. In the face of this the white power structure is so insecure that it considers every black man a threat.

The tragedy is that these police are black people too who don't know themselves yet. In the meantime they have their problems too. To get promotion they must show how efficient they are at beating black people. Furthermore, themselves oppressed, they vent their anger on the most conscious and proud of us - primarily the youth. By so doing however, they are not correcting their own problems. In fact, the police are making their jobs more dangerous and the white power structure more shaky by beating into the people the realization that violent attack on them is the purpose of staffing the society with these mercenaries.

On the face of our history therefore only our middle class people will be surprised at what is happening today. If they really believe in equality before the law, then they must protest this wave of police violence against the people. The sufferer will have no alternative but to respond.



ABENG MUST NOT IGNORE AFRICA

I am glad that All Africa Day was remembered by Africans in Jamaica. I am sad that Abeng was not the organ to broadcast and highlight the meaningfulness of that day. It is bad that Abeng ignores Africa.

On the other hand you played up Labour Day, a day which disenfranchises black people and in whose esteem it has been toppling for a number of years, falling on its bottom in '69 with an inaudible and elongated poop.

We value highly the intellectuals and collegiates in our struggle, for they it is who must carry out much of the technological adjustments of Africans in the West but to those for whom relevant service of black man's long established aspirations is too restrictive or mundane a role, I offer the lesson of their most valid prototype, Dr. Walter Rodney:

1. Humble yourselves in the realisation that no collegiate has yet attained the standard or level of activity and involvement that this man exemplified. (Largely because of the difference of sacrifice and sincerity between the immune Jamaicans and this exposed non-Jamaican.)
2. Appreciate that the Black Mass is ideologically, culturally and organised-wise ahead of the theoreticians and their only contribution is to catch up, use the methods of analysis and assessment which they have learnt from Babylon to find out what has been in Black people's mind already, and then with the prestige and status which the system affords the studied intellectual they must articulate our philosophy at the levels where the sufferer's voice is not heard or is not eloquent share the scientific methods rather than the theories which tempt you to assume leadership and impose pet ideas.
3. Learn and teach that ours is not merely a class struggle to be waged by a proletariat, but in addition and also overwhelmingly a cultural, spiritual and mental

struggle being waged by a race, a nation, Africa.

MAROONS, MARCUS, MOTHER AFRICA

Black Power is not merely Socialism painted a darker shade, is not just an economic solution for Black Man's suffering, but treatment prescribed by Time for what we diagnose as a physical blow and a mental ailment inflicted upon Africa by the white world. Because Universal Adult Suffrage offered us hope, our most progressive sentiments have been expressed in socialism. Since then we have come to appreciate that the consequences of the slave trade, although that trade grouped us together as a working class, necessitates a cultural renaissance, more than an economic reform: so much so that we chose as a symbol of the new stage of our struggle the Abeng.

1. The Abeng is the messenger of the Maroons, the most intense African freedom fighters in our history. Maroon means stranded, for these heroes regard themselves to the status of runaway slaves. They said "we're not merely working class".

2. Marcus Garvey has been heralded in these pages as the father of Black Power. Yet his whole theme, that of "Back to Africa", has not been dealt with, even where it provides for a spiritual return, while remaining in the West. His motto "One God, One Aim, One Destiny" referred to the far-flung parts of a world-wide Africa.

3. The utilization of subject matter like African Battleline is obviously prompted for the glamour impact rather than for our participation as Africans, thus the lack of parallel drawn between continental struggle and the story of the Maroons, Paul Bogle, Henry 1960 and Black Panthers. The O.A.U. is ignored as a coordinator or simply as an African monument.

These three sets of circumstances demonstrate that there is no lack of awareness of the paramount import of Africa in our fate but merely a sounding out of what the "sufferer" will be impressed by.

We have no permission to mark time with sensationalism, we have no space to equivocate.

ABENG BELONGS TO BLACK MAN

We are not hopeless because it is known that Abeng can continue, if at a faster pace, to evolve and enunciate a people's doctrine, Black People's doctrine. The rate can increase, not because of impatience, but through the work of more man. Abeng belongs to Black Man. Abeng came into existence because of African needs and Abeng will continue to exist in spite of threats because it will continue to be protected by African Unity. It is not enough for man to write ten times the amount of letters. It is enough though, through Abeng to recruit workers, and after it is known who is ready, work is shared, be it writing, printing, distributing, teaching, protecting, contacting. On the other hand the population cannot become completely organised around Abeng. The people have long been organised around themselves. Although Abeng belongs to the people, we do not object to the trusteeship of its directors as long as the direction is faithful, as long as they recognise themselves to be a Commission of Enquiry to reveal the African conscience which already exists.

To those who see every criticism as an attack on personality, I would say this: Withdraw from this race, the AFRICAN RACE.

I am
An African
Bongo Jere

NEXT WEEK



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